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AMERICANS!

Let's restore democracy to America

By W. E. B. Du Bois

TO YOUR TENTS, AMERICANS! We have gone far enough into this morass of fear, war, hate, lying and crime. We face a crisis and our first great duty is here and now.

For the time being, never mind the Soviet Union; forget China; ignore Germany!

Come back home and look at America.

Come back to the problem of American Negroes which we have muddled over for 300 years.

- In 1655 Spain laid plans for bringing to America 3,000 black men from Africa each year. The colonizers ignored Las Casas who worked for the abolition of slavery in Spanish America, and knighted John Hawkins in his slave ship, called the "Jesus."
- In 1755, new, free America held 300,000 black folk, nearly a fourth of the total population, in human slavery; we ignored Milton, Baxter and Burke and refused to stop the African slave trade.
- In 1855, the Supreme Court was about to declare that, from the birth of the nation, Negroes had no rights which a white man was bound to respect; and the South was ready to risk Civil War to make slave territory of the whole United States.

There followed a century of war, violence and Color Caste, until the nation ashamed, started back toward Democracy. Lynching reached climax and declined; Negroes were disfranchised and then began to vote and hold office; Negro education increased, but not as fast as it should increase. Then, in 1954, the Supreme Court declared race segregation in public education was unconstitutional because it retarded education.

- **In 1955, murder, violence and economic repression began to increase, especially in Mississippi, and also widely throughout that part of the nation which once fought for human slavery and long refused to obey the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Southern governors and United States senators threatened to nullify the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court.**

What are we going to do about it? There is but one right path: the restoration of democracy in the United States.

WE ARE TOLD that we can do nothing: that South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, as well as many parts of other Southern states, are superior to the people of the U.S.; and that as the Justice Dept. of the U.S. has just said, when a 14-year-old black boy is murdered in Mississippi, and no one is punished, the nation is powerless.

Is that true?

We have argued at length on the power of the Federal government and of the states. It is the considered opinion of the nation that the state and the locality should be responsible for local government, while the Federal government deals with the larger over-all matters which cannot be of simply local concern. **But this means that the democracy which the Federal government, by virtue of Article 4, Section 4 of the Constitution, must guarantee each state, must be enforced in each state; that the people of the locality must have a voice in their own government and choose their own officials.**

In that county of Mississippi where the boy Till was murdered, the majority of the population have no right to vote. They have no voice in the legisture or city councils. They sit on no juries. They do not share

(Continued on Page 3)

A Happy New Year to All Our Readers

McMANUS AND ARONSON CALLED AGAIN

McCarthyism revival seen in Eastland press probe

THE SENATE Internal Security subcommittee, headed by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.) set Jan. 4 for the opening of public hearings in its continuing witch-hunt of the press.

Summoned to appear at 1:30 p.m. in Room 318 of the Senate Office Building in Washington on opening day are the GUARDIAN's general manager John T. McManus and executive editor James Aronson.

Last month McManus and Aronson, along with 35 other New York newspaper employes and veteran members of the N. Y. Newspaper Guild appeared before the committee in closed session. One reason for the assault on the press was given **last week by N. Y. Daily News** columnist John O'Donnell (12/27):

> "This investigation has as its background frequent charges (some soundly justified, in this reporter's opinion) that news reports of the early hearings held by the late Sen. McCarran of Nevada . . . and the later hearings by Sen. McCarthy were given a false emphasis and twisted interpretation, in print and on the air, when they finally reached the eyes and ears of great segments of the republic."

TOTAL SERVITUDE: Of all New York dailies only the N. Y. **Post** has denounced the hearings. In an editorial (12/27) the **Post** quoted O'Donnell ("whose relations with the Eastland Committee are notoriously intimate") and charged the hearings were a "punitive expedition" against the press which had criticized "excesses of the Congressional inquisitors." The editorial then sounded the alarm:

> "If the U.S. press is prepared to have its news-columns policed by Senator Eastland of Mississippi and John O'Donnell of the **News**, it is headed for total servitude. It is time for publishers and editors to stand up and be counted. The silence has already been disgracefully long."

As the hearings approached there seemed to be an effort to recreate the mood and settings of the McCarthy era. Between Christmas and New Year's Day, the Eastland Committee issued a "Handbook for Americans" covering "The Communist Party in the United States of America—What It Is—How It Works." In it the committee answers its own questions from its own previous witch-hunts, lists "most typical sponsors of front organizations," tells how to spot a "sympathizer" and defends the use of informers.

"RADICAL RIGHT": Also during the holiday week, the **Times**, singled out for attack by the witch-hunt, published a three-column survey of "detention camps" established under the McCarran Act to hold "security risks" in time of national emergency. The **Times** reported six camps ready to accommodate 5,000 immediately; "thousands more could be put in detention camps as fast as they were rounded up." While dis-

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Renew now with a pledge for '56

The GUARDIAN needs your sub renewal with extra help if you can offer it. Your pledge NOW of $1 a month throughout 1956 automatically renews your sub and assures much needed help over the rough spots. Pitch in the easy way!

☐ Here's my Buck of the Month pledge to the Guardian Sustaining Fund for 1956. I understand this covers my renewal.

or:

☐ $........ enclosed to cover my renewal ($3 a year).

● **Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want paper wrapped.**

Mail to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Yule Bells

BELHAVEN, N. C.

In the New Year
May each nation
Turn all power
To creation.
May abundance
Be a tide
Enriching people
Far and wide.
May each heart throb
Be as one
All the way
Around the sun—
Every hint
Of discord cease,
Everyone
Know love and peace.

"Love, love,
Love is the thing;
Love all mankind,"
The Yule bells ring.

Vernon Ward

The good doctor

TEPIC, NAYARIT, MEXICO

All those the world over who are aware of the brotherhood of man are in debt to you for publishing that magnificent speech by W. E. B. Du Bois (GUARDIAN, 11/28).

Oliver Cromwell said: "Everyone wants freedom, but no one wants to give it. When shall we have men of universal mind?"

Dr. Du Bois is one such man, and the U.S.'s inability to give leadership in today's world is nowhere shown more clearly than in its failure to reckon such a man at his worth. It is privilege the U.S. champions, not freedom. Dr. Du Bois shows the way to freedom.

A. R. Munday

Farmer to farmer

SPRING HILL, KAN.

Farmers are awaking to the fact that they are confronted with the greatest peril in their history, caught between the upper and nether millstones of high costs and low incomes. But for the billion dollar boys and their beneficiaries, "Happy Days Are Here Again." All eat at the farmer's table three times a day, also consuming many other farm products, such as clothes and shoes.

Our Don Quixote Ezra with Flexible Lance sets forth to tilt with the Windmills of Parity. He is all out to save the nation from the gouging farmer. Today, over the counter a No. 5 bag of corn meal costs 45c; that is over $6 per bushel. The farmer, after de-ducks, receives as low as $1 and no more than $1.40 per bushel. A No. 5 bag of whole wheat flour sells for 53c; this is around $7 per bu. for wheat. Farmers after de-ducks received from $1.70 to $2.37 per bu. This spread exists to a greater or lesser degree on every farm product including the shoes you wear.

The farmer's plight to a great extent exists because he neglected to safeguard his position as a minority group: "Yesterday, this day's madness did prepare." We have three farm organizations. Two have long records of betrayal. When the third came out supporting the cold war and the Korean war and revoking charters of those opposed, we must believe the third one is merely asking for crumbs.

Farmers have failed to support the Left press. Their chief mental food is **Life, Look, K. C. Star, Readers Digest** and all the farm slicks Most of them firmly believe "the meek shall inherit the earth." How easily the workers of this nation can be misled on vital issues! Old Prester John Dulles flies to Geneva with a bag of tricks, each and every one an insult to the Soviet people. Our war crowd knew beforehand what the reaction to these demands would be; they also felt our dupes in the U.S.A. would fall for it. They may be right. Let us (said Prester John, this devout and pious Christian gentleman) build, arm and general another goose-stepping Fascist Hitler army, which will at some near future date drown the people of Europe again in a sea of blood. Millions of Henry Dubs, who listen to Prester John tell his story on the radio (approved by Ike) will strut forth telling of this good Christian man who showed up the pagan Molotov.

The Moral and Antidote: support and read the Left press and form the habit of thinking.

Otis Wm. Johnson

More Mailbag on Page 5

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 (AP)—Senate investigators heard today about a Seattle carpenter who lost his Army job for a security reason but whose wife was cleared of a similar charge.

He was charged with associating with another carpenter alleged to be a Communist.

Despite his protestations, he said, the Army review board directed that he be dismissed. Asked what his wife was charged with, he replied: "Associating with me."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer, Nov. 22, 1955.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: M. L. Nearing, Cleveland, O. Please send original clips with entry.

An admired reader

ARLINGTON, MASS.

This contribution is sent with cordial birthday greetings to our courageous and admired Exile, not only unembittered but victoriously strong and resolute under the lash of stupid and self-defeating injustice.

Also, with congratulations upon the grand paper's achievements and wishes for its continuing success.

(Rev.) Eliot White

Time for a change

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

A N. Y. **Times** dispatch by Robert Alden Dec. 7 says Burma refused free technical or economic aid from the U.S. She had offered previously to pay for such a program by selling rice to the U.S. This was rejected because the U.S. has a rice surplus.

If the U.S. offer was free, why did we refuse to accept the rice? Obviously the aid was not free. There must have been strings attached.

Secy. Dulles' statement that Goa is a province of Portugal I don't consider a **faux pas** by Dulles but just another inevitable result of our wrong foreign policy.

We need a change in foreign policy—to one of friendly relations based on increased trade and cultural relations with all countries, an honest approach to disarmament, and non-interference in the internal affairs of nations who differ with us politically.

Louis Dinnerstein

Blessing?

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am interested in the story of the teacher who was fired from a school in Springfield, Mo., for expressing a disbelief in God. I also am a teacher and my birthplace and home was that same town, Springfield.

I escaped from it at an early date and have never been back but once since. Frankly, I consider it a good town to be away from. Not all school principals are as provincial as this one in Springfield. Sooner or later, I am sure your teacher will look upon his dismissal as a blessing in disguise. Good luck to him.

Gertrude C. Anderson

Why evil?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the Nov. 28 GUARDIAN I read an article "Religion in the Schools; Crisis is Near." I agree with the teacher who answered that he does not believe in a God. There is no God; there is evil, and no intelligent person can allow that a God would allow evil. Many have asked: "Whence evil?"

If a God there is, He is the source of all that there is. He is therefore the source of all the evil that there is. The proper question about evil is "Why evil?"—and I challenge the whole of the Board of Education to answer this question.

Reader

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I can't tell you where the press conference is. Everything in here is top secret."

Don't delay, act today

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.

Not since "Fascism in Action" was published at the instance of Rep. Wright Patman has it fallen to me to recommend to progressive readers a publication of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. But Part 2 of the "Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles, Calif., Area," published this month by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., should be in the reference library of every GUARDIAN reader.

Pages 1623 to 1653, inclusive, of this booklet contain the "Report of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China." This is absolutely essential reading for every worker for peace, every taxpayer who contributes to the support of our BW laboratories in Maryland, New York, Colorado, Michigan and California, every American who believes that the function of medicine and biology should be the preservation rather than the destruction of the health of mankind.

It would be too much to expect the Committee to reprint the 46 appendices to the report, which detail in over 250,000 words the evidence examined by the International Commission on which the report is based. But the index to these appendices is there and gives a fair indication of the breadth of the Commission's investigation during the two months spent in Korea and China.

Several pages are devoted to the accounts of incidents involving the spread of plague, anthrax, respiratory anthrax and cholera in which the Commission found that "the connection between the planes, the vectors, and the cases of human disease, can no longer be contested." Eyewitnesses were examined who had observed the dropping of packages of infected plant material carrying diseases which destroy soya beans, apple and pear trees, cotton and corn. A variety of the containers or "bombs" used for the delivery of infected insects, feathers and other materials is described, including leaflet bombs of metal, cylindrical paper cartons and a box of calcareous material similar to artificial eggshell. There is interesting comparative data on the use of bacterial warfare by the Japanese in China from 1940-44 and some reference to the confirmatory evidence given to the Commission by American airmen, all of whom repudiated their statements on their return to the United States.

It should be noted that the Swedish, French, British, Italian, Brazilian and Russian scientists who made up the Commission are among the most distinguished authorities on bacteriology and public health in their respective countries. Best known in the U. S. is Dr. Joseph Needham, Fellow of the Royal Society; and Sir Wm. Dunn, Reader in Biochemistry, University of Cambridge, Scientific Counsellor to the British Embassy at Chungking during World War II, later Director of the Department of Natural Sciences, UNESCO, now writing a nine-volume History of Science and Civilization in China, of which the second volume, published this year, has been widely acclaimed for its superb scholarship.

Hugh Hardyman

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REPORT TO READERS

1956 — and you

A YEAR AGO at this time, the GUARDIAN opened up an argument, which will not be stilled, for independent political action outside the two-party system (see pp. 4-5). The urgency of such a break-away, in the real interests of the people of the United States and of the world, has never been more apparent.

As we enter 1956, a year in which the U. S. electorate chooses a new executive administration for four years, a third of its senators for six years and a House of Representatives for two years, it would be ostrichism not to recognize that the prospect for democratic gains at the hands of either of the two old parties is virtually nil.

One root reason for this evident fact is the violation of democratic process in many states, principally in the South. Today more people are conscious of this violation than perhaps ever before, because of events in Mississippi brought to nationwide attention since the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till. Yet few are aware of the basic effect of the white-supremacy South on the development of democracy in the nation as a whole.

TO HELP BRING THESE FACTS to the attention of those most likely to do something about them—you and people like you in all communities of our country—the GUARDIAN has asked Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to undertake a series of articles beginning in this issue and to continue throughout the winter. Dr. Du Bois has prepared several of his articles in advance and has outlined further ones, so we here have had the rare privilege of previewing a job of crusading journalism which the greatest newspapers in our nation should be proud to reprint.

Whether Dr. Du Bois' articles, or the facts contained in them, find their way into the columns of the rest of the press depends on you. You are the one to write letters to your community's newspaper; to visit editors, to bring the truth to the attention of neighbors and shopmates; to urge upon your representatives in Congress the reforms which can and must bring democracy to the South—and to the nation. We earnestly hope and expect that you will undertake this effort; the ultimate success of most of your objectives depends upon it.

DO YOU THINK we over-rate your power to get such a big job moving? Well, if you doubt your own strength and importance, there are those who rate you pretty highly.

One such is the blacklist publication, **Counterattack**, which devoted a good portion of its Nov. 25 issue to viewing with alarm the extent of the GUARDIAN readership. What especially disturbed **Counterattack** was the fact that our editor, even though deported to England, was still fighting for more circulation in his "Bundles for Belfrage" letter of last November to GUARDIAN subscribers. We do hope, in this connection, that you will respond to that "Bundles for Belfrage" letter (if you haven't already) by adding at least one new reader right now from among your friends. This will help **Counterattack's** worst fears come true.

MORE PLEASING TESTIMONY to the greatness and goodness of GUARDIAN readers comes from Janet Jagan in British Guiana, who recently asked for books in our Mailbag columns for the library of the People's Progressive Party there. Mrs. Jagan has just written to thank you, apologizing for the delay because she took time out to have a daughter. She writes:

> "Your paper has a good circulation for we have had letters and parcels from all parts of the U. S. and from Canada, Alaska and even China."

So you see, the collective "you" who make up the GUARDIAN readership are a formidable lot of do-gooders, for whom no concern is too small or too remote, and no task too big to be tackled.

The future of democracy in this country rests with YOU. Go to it in 1956.

—THE GUARDIAN

P. S.: And the future couldn't be in better hands.

A PETITION FOR AMNESTY

Prominent citizens ask President to free jailed Smith Act victims

SINCE WORLD WAR I it has become almost traditional that U. S. political prisoners (a category not recognized by U. S. governments since the Civil War) go to jail under Democratic presidents and are freed by Republican presidents. When amnesty for political prisoners has been proclaimed it has been almost always at Christmas time.

In line with this tradition, a group of 46 prominent U. S. citizens, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, on Dec. 20 petitioned President Eisenhower for a Christmas amnesty for 16 Communist leaders still serving prison sentences under Smith Act convictions, and for a postponement in the cases of 180 others who are currently on trial or awaiting trial or whose cases are on appeal.

The petitioners acted independently (their appeal came as a surprise to the Communist Party) and each one signed as an individual. They stressed their

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
In the name of humanity

"fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program" but said they are "motivated . . . by their attachment to the democratic way of life." They asked that sentences of those still in prison be commuted to time served.

NEW TREND: The appeal noted that several of the prisoners are elderly and ill, and that their trials "were carried through in a period of the 'cold war' and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria." They quoted a dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black in 1951 in which he emphasized that none of the Smith Act defendants had been charged with acts aimed at overthrowing the government but were accused only of planning sometime "in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government."

STARTED BY MUSTE: Signers included Norman Thomas, six times the Socialist Party's candidate for President; Henry Steele Commager, Prof. of History at Columbia; Elmer Rice, playwright; and Lewis Mumford, author.

The amnesty appeal was initiated by the Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. A pacifist, the Rev. Muste himself was given a suspended jail sentence last week as one of 20 persons who defied an air raid drill last summer by refusing to take shelter. He enlisted the support of Thomas, Mumford and six others, including Dean John C. Bennett of Union Theological Seminary, who, as an initiating committee, solicited the other signatures.

The 16 still in prison are:

Alexander Bittelman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Philip Frankfeld, Betty Gannett, Gus Hall, V. J. Jerome, Arnold S. Johnson, Albert F. Lannon, George Meyers, Jacob Mindel, Pettis Perry, Carl Ross, Sid Stein, Robert Thompson, Louis Weinstock, and William W. Weinstone.

BACK TO JEFFERSON: First great campaign for amnesty for political prisoners in the U. S. came in 1798 in behalf of victims of the Alien & Sedition Laws. It was a key issue in the election in 1800 of Thomas Jefferson, who nullified the laws and freed all those jailed under them.

In 1886 four Haymarket Martyrs in Chicago were executed, but an amnesty campaign won a commutation of sentence to life imprisonment for four others, who were eventually pardoned by Gov. John Peter Altgeld in 1893.

During World War I thousands of political dissenters, war resisters, pacifists, unionists and radicals of all opinions were imprisoned, but by 1924 all of them were freed. They were all prosecuted under President Woodrow Wilson who refused to intercede for any of them after the war. Biggest campaign was waged in behalf of Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs, who was sentenced to 10 years for opposing the war. On Christmas Day, 1921, Republican President Warren G. Harding released Debs and 23 other political prisoners. Harding's successor, Calvin Coolidge, released the last of the wartime prisoners during Christmas, 1923. (In 1937 President Roosevelt issued full pardons to a number of the World War I victims.)

In 1936 California Gov. Olsen pardoned Tom Mooney who had been framed 20 years earlier during the hysteria of World War I. In the early part of World War II President Roosevelt pardoned Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party, who was serving a sentence under a charge of violating passport regulations.

OTHER SIGNERS: Following are other signers of the Smith Act amnesty plea:

ROY FINCH, Sarah Lawrence College; DONALD HARRINGTON, Community Church, New York; CHARLES R. LAWRENCE, B'klyn College; PAUL E. SCHERER, Union Theological Seminary; ROWLAND WATTS, secy., Workers Defense League; ROWLAND H. BAINTON, Yale Divinity School; GUSTAVE J. BISCHOF, City College; STEPHEN G. CARY, secy., Amer. Section, Amer. Friends Service Comm.; ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE, Harvard Univ.; HENRY H. CRANE, Central Methodist Church, Detroit; W. J. FAULKNER, Congressional Church of Park Manor, Chicago; RICHARD B. GREGG, author, Jamaica, Vt.; GEORGIA HARKNESS, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif.; ALFRED HASSLER, editor of "Fellowship," New York; The Rev. JOHN M. KRUMM, chaplain, Columbia Univ.; KENT LARRABEE, secy., New York region, Fellowship of Reconciliation; PAUL LEHMANN, Princeton Theological Seminary; SID LENS, manager of an AFL-CIO union in Chicago; HENRY LOFQUIST, secy., South Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, Bessemer, Ala.; PAUL G. MACY, regional secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation; ALLEN O. MILLER, Eden Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo.; PAUL S. MINEAR, Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Mass.

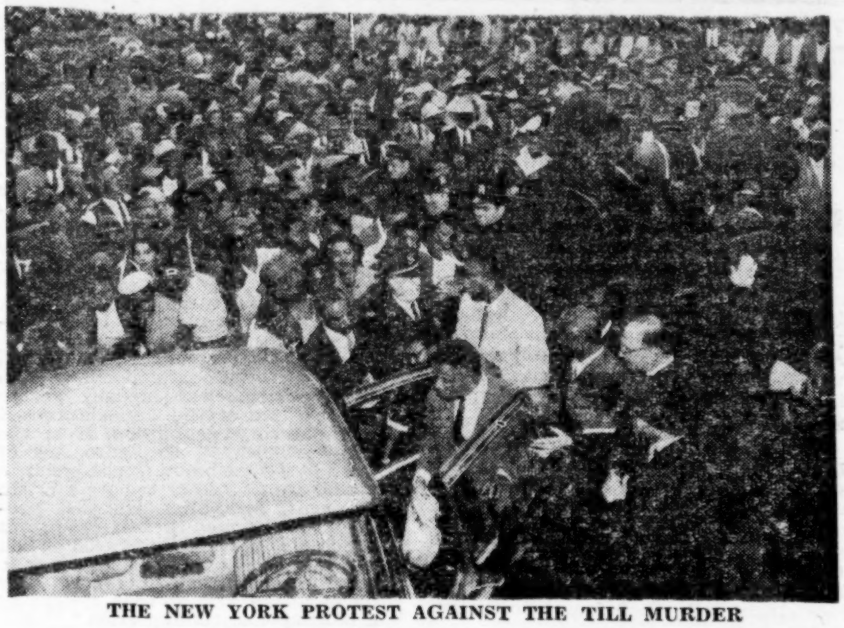
JEROME NATHANSON, Society for Ethical Culture, New York; HAZEL L. PERKISON, B'way Congregational Church, New York; JOHN HENRY RANDALL Jr., Columbia Univ.; CONSTANCE H. RUMBOUGH, teacher, week-day religious education program, Harrisburg, Va.; CULBERT G. RUTENBER, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia; JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, Intl. Fellowship of Reconciliation; MARK R. SHAW, northeastern secy., Democracy, Unlimited, Melrose, Mass.; EMIL PARKER SIMON, exec. dir., Baltimore Peace Section, Baltimore; ARTHUR L. SWIFT, Union Theological Seminary; JOHN SWOMLEY, secy., Fellowship of Reconciliation; LOREN WALTERS, Evangelical & Reformed Church hdq., Philadelphia; ROBERT F. WEISKOTTEN, St. John's Lutheran Church, Richmond Hill, Queens; NORMAN J. WHITNEY, Syracuse Univ., N. Y.; HERMAN HILL Jr., vice-chairman, Fellowship of Reconciliation; CHARLES F. FORMAN, Yale Univ.; WALTER MITCHELL, retired Bishop of Arizona, Rancho Sante Fe, Calif.; ROBERT H. HAMILL, Ottawa Street Methodist Church, Joliet, Ill.

(See Standard Brand ad, p. 10)

'No reaction'

THE PRESIDENT and his Attorney General weren't unmindful of the Christmas spirit of forgiveness. On Dec. 23 Mr. Eisenhower gave full pardons to 42 persons who had long since served their full sentences for what the N.Y. **Times** called "relatively minor felonies." One of those pardoned was a man convicted of manslaughter in 1898. A soldier who shot an elderly German couple to death after they gave him a ride as a hitch-hiker had his death sentence commuted to 55 years at hard labor.

White House press secretary James C. Hagerty told reporters that he had heard "no reaction" to the appeal for amnesty for the Smith Act victims.



THE NEW YORK PROTEST AGAINST THE TILL MURDER

Let's restore democracy to America

(Continued from Page 1)

in the election of Sheriff H. C. Strider, in whose hands the enforcement of the law lies.

Till was murdered in the Third Congressional District of Mississippi; in that district live 412,547 persons of whom in 1950, 308,752 were colored. There were 270,000 persons of voting age in this district. Yet Frank E. Smith, the U.S. Congressman, was chosen in 1950 in an election where 7,058 voted. Compare this with the Third Congressional District of New York, with a population of 317,414 persons in 1950; here in the election which chose L. W. Hall, 164,341 persons voted. In Mississippi most Negroes and many whites did not vote.

If the Negroes of the county where Till was murdered had the right to vote, his murderers would be punished. If we are trying to recognize state rights and refusing to impose Federal enforcement of local law and order on states, counties and towns, then democratic government must prevail in these states, and the government must not be solely in the hands of local landlords and merchants, while labor is largely held in peonage.

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT to the Constitution of the United States says:

> 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State. [The 19th Amendment in 1920 barred denial of the right to vote on account of sex.—Ed.]

What right have representatives from Mississippi to sit in Congress and legislate for the nation, so long as democracy is denied most of her citizens?

The failure of national democracy in one state means its failure in the nation.

The South has refused to make the Negro really free despite the 13th Amendment; despite the 14th Amendment, the South has disfranchised most Negroes and still counts them as the basis of its representation in Congress. So that for years the South (which is the most poverty-stricken, most ignorant and most diseased part of the United States) has in Congress at least three times the political power of the North and West.

In spite of this, in the face of this, we boast to the world of our democracy. We stand ready to teach democracy to the world.

DOES THE WORLD BELIEVE US? If it does, then we cruelly deceive it as to what democracy can accomplish if it has a real chance.

If the world does not believe our boasting, then we are wasting our strength in war, murder and destruction, crying for a democracy which we do not ourselves possess.

To your tents, Americans!

Set your own house in order before you try to rule the world, or to buy its submission with five billion dollars in foreign subsidies.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — A NEW SERIES

Is a welfare program the way to avoid a depression?

By Tabitha Petran
First of three articles

CHIEF OBJECTIONS[1] raised to **The Facts About the American Economy** (GUARDIAN, Aug. 1-29, 1955) boil down to these:

1. The analysis represents a paralyzing belief that nothing can be accomplished on the economic front short of socialism and therefore it is not worthwhile to advocate and fight for an immediate peacetime economic program.

2. Progressives have been mistakenly predicting depression since 1945 because, it is said, they did not take account of the government's role in the economy. Since U. S. capitalists have succeeded in "delaying a depression" (by such measures as the Marshall Plan), welfare measures, even at this late stage of the boom, can also "delay a depression."

This article and two subsequent ones will discuss these questions.

THE ISSUES: The issue before progressives is not whether or not to fight for an immediate program, but rather: what kind of a program for organized activity do progressives need today? Such a program must be based on a correct understanding of what is happening and a correct theoretical evaluation of how the economy works.

Field Enterprises, Inc.
"I can't do much toward keeping the national economy booming with a mere dime, Mac! . . ."

Those who advance the program "to delay depression" by welfare measures make certain assumptions about the cause of capitalist crisis. If depression were the result of an imbalance between production and consumption, then an increase in consumption would remedy the situation. This assumption —that underconsumption is the cause of crisis—lies behind the program "to delay depression."

A recent **Political Affairs article**[2] states that the major reason for the cyclical economic crises of capitalism

> ". . . is the robbery of surplus value from workers in the shape of profits, interest and rent. The workers consequently lack purchasing power, are unable to buy back what they produce, with the ultimate result of periodic economic crisis. . . ."

The article defines "the 'profit gap' between what workers produce and what they are able to buy back" as "the basic cause of capitalist economic crisis."

MARX ON THE CRISIS: But Marx wrote on this subject (**Capital II**, pp. 475-6):

> "It is purely a tautology to say that crises are caused by the scarcity of solvent consumers, or of a paying consumption. The capitalist system does not know any other mode of consumption but a paying one, except that of the pauper or of the 'thief.' If any commodities are unsaleable, it means that no solvent purchasers have been found for them, in other words, consumers (whether commodities are bought in the last instance for productive or individual consumption). . . .
>
> "But if one were to attempt to clothe this tautology with a semblance of a profounder justification by saying that the working class receive too small a portion of their own product, and the evil would be remedied by giving them a larger share of it, or raising their wages, we should reply that crises are precisely always preceded by a period in which wages rise generally and the working class actually get a larger share of the annual product intended for consumption. From the point of view of the advocates of 'simple' (!) common sense, such a period should rather remove a crisis. It seems, then, that capitalist production comprises certain conditions which are independent of good or bad will and permit the working class to enjoy that relative prosperity only momentarily, and at that, always as a harbinger of coming crisis."

CONSUMPTION NOT KEY: Clearly, there is disagreement here between Marx and some of today's Marxists on the question of what causes crises. The disagreement is not just a matter of words. If we look at the question concretely we see why the under-consumption theory (that crises arise out of the gap between productive capacity and consumption power) is not an adequate explanation of the cause of crisis and why, therefore, proposed welfare solutions will not avert or delay depression.

Let us suppose, for example, that welfare measures greatly increase the consumption of lower income groups. This would mean a big increase in effective demand for food, clothing and similar items. But there is already more than enough capacity in these industries to meet a substantially increased demand. The result, therefore, would be not an expansion of capacity but a greater utilization of capacity.

It is, however, expansion of capacity —the drive to invest larger and larger sums in new capital equipment (means of production) in order to make more profit—which powers the boom. When businessmen stop adding to capacity, a drastic decline takes place in the economy. This happens even though consumption always rises at the tail end of a boom.

CAPACITY AND DEMAND: Such drastic reversals can not be adjusted by increasing purchasing power. In 1937 and 1939, for example, consumers bought more than they did in 1929 but business investment was 30% below the 1929 level, despite the fact that in the intervening years business investment had been barely adequate to maintain existing plant and equipment, and a good deal of equipment was deteriorating. Enough capacity was available in 1929 to supply not only current but future increases in consumption. Today we are approaching a similar situation.

Consumer demand is no automatic guarantee that even the needed production will be forthcoming. Capitalists may find it more profitable to raise prices than to expand volume. There is a demand today for low-cost housing but private industry does not find it profitable to supply the demand. Government support for reduced carrying charges, aimed at subsidizing the housing market, is partly offset by higher material prices and higher margins for builders.

FRENZY NEEDED: There are other factors which show how unrealistic is the view that welfare measures can avert or delay the impending crisis. For example, speculative frenzy and an excessive use of credit are major forces in the boom. Unless these forces are fed by further speculation and further expansion of credit, the whole production structure will come down like a house of cards. Increased consumption cannot take the place of speculative and credit forces, and thus help sustain the boom, because these forces are integral to the boom. When the downturn comes, the reverse of speculation and credit expansion takes place, forcing a cumulative contraction of the economy.

Louisville Times
WORLD TRADE?

A welfare program, as distinguished from the government program of promoting profits, would be at the expense of profits and, for that very reason, would be more likely to kill the boom than to extend it.

A welfare program from the beginning of the post-war period—on the order of the worldwide new New Deal then envisioned by some—might have been a different story. But even in that hypothetical situation, we cannot say it would have delayed the maturing of a crisis. For would U. S. capitalism have invested in such a program? Wouldn't it rather have resisted (as it did the actual New Deal) and so hastened the onset of depression? The program's validity would then have lain not in delaying a crisis but rather in winning concrete economic benefits for the people and providing an environment for socialist solutions.

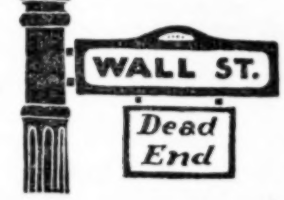
As it was, American capitalism easily destroyed the new New Deal vision in favor of a program of government support for high profits. It is on the typically capitalist way of high profits and re-investment, supported by government action, that the post-war boom has thrived.

But these inducements (profitable military procurement contracts; underwriting the risks of investment and adding subsidies largely through tax rebates; fast tax write-offs and loans) guarantee the classic capitalist boom and bust by generating over-capacity. The contradiction is seen in the limits of the housing boom; in Treasury Secy. Humphrey's resistance to further tax write-offs; suspension of fast write-off allowances for a host of industries; countering threats by industry that announced capital expansion programs will be curtailed or suspended unless tax concessions continue.

To think, at this present late stage of the boom, that a welfare program can stave off or delay the impending crisis betrays a misunderstanding of how capitalist economy works. Such thinking assumes that capitalist economy can be expressed in a simple mathematical formula; hence, if one ingredient is missing, supply it, and all will be well.

A capitalist economy is not planned, and hence is not subject to simple common sense. It is dominated, and its composition of production determined, by the drive for profits—not by people's needs. Wishful thinking and wishful slogans will not make it otherwise.

1 Adam Lapin's "Economics and the Peace" (**Daily Worker and People's World**); Celeste Strack's "Economic Laws and Anti-Depression Program" (**Political Affairs**, 11/55); Marry Norris letter to the Guardian (12/5).
2 William Foster: "The Fight Against Keynes" (**Political Affairs**, 8/55). Also in the Strack and the Lapin articles.



IN FOURTH WEEK

Negroes hold firm in their boycott of bus line in Montgomery, Ala.

THE NEGRO BOYCOTT of Montgomery, Ala., City Lines buses in its fourth week was "still very effective," Montgomery Improvement Assn. counsel Fred Gray told the Negro press last week. The association organized the boycott following arrest and conviction of Mrs. Rosa Parks, a seamstress, on Dec. 1, for disobeying a bus driver's order to give her seat to a white person and move to the rear. She was fined $14 for violating the state jimcrow law.

Gray said that Negroes normally make up 75% of the bus line's riders, "and about 95% of the Negroes are not riding the buses now." He added that, "in fact, the bus lines have discontinued operating through the Negro neighborhood." Some 45% of Montgomery's 106,525 population is Negro.

Meeting with busline officials, a committee of Negro boycotters demanded that drivers show more courtesy to the Negro rider; that seating be arranged on a first-come-first-served basis; that the company hire Negro bus drivers. All demands were rejected.

MINDS MADE UP: The Natl. City Buslines, owner of the Montgomery line, rushed vice president K. E. Toller from Chicago last week to confer with a citizens' committee appointed by Mayor W. A. Gale. The conference got nowhere because the white chairman, angered at charges by Improvement Assn. president Rev. M. L. King that the white members had come to the meeting with "preconceived ideas" and "minds already made up," adjourned the hearing. Rev. King, pastor of the Dexter Av. Baptist Church and Negro spokesman, declared the mayor had no right to overbalance the white side of the committee by adding Luther Ingalls, member of the White Citizens Councils and a lawyer.

Mr. Gray said each of the two mass meetings since the boycott started was jammed by more than 5,000. He said that, "ironically, many of the bus drivers guilty of insulting Negro passengers" and siding with the company, "have been laid off on account of the boycott."

Los Angeles Examiner
Thrown for another loss!

MAIL BAG

The flow of mail has been so heavy—and so good—that we are overflowing a page this week, and perhaps next week too. We print on this page letters largely in response to political and economic articles that have appeared in recent issues of the GUARDIAN. We are pleased that the articles apparently have been stimulating and provocative enough to draw such a flow of mail. Keep the letters coming; and try to make them as short as possible.

Sensible, heartening

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Your editorial on Thoreau is the best, most sensible and finally, most heartening bit of political writing I've seen in a long time. The part about lawyers as spokesmen hit me particularly, because at the time I went up before the committee I wanted to tell them simply to go to hell, to have nothing to do with lawyers or amendments or any part of the general conspiracy (or coalition) against independent action and a decent prose style. Instead, I let myself be convinced that to do so would weaken the fight to preserve the 5th; and in letting myself be persuaded, I was forced to some degree into the "coalition"; to a certain degree I was supporting the whole myth of the state, their "legality," "constitutionality," etc.

I'm not condemning lawyers out of hand, of course, although they have less effect on me than the full moon. L'Egalite, Legality, as the man says: it took a revolution to create the one and a century of "progress" to turn it into the other.

The worst thing that has happened to the radical since the war—or since the Thirties—is the creation of a kind of mechanical man, a "conservative" radical, who is terrified when caught with his assurances down. But the war between live-o's and mechanicals is older than the class struggle and will last longer. **Tom McGrath**

For a new party

PORTLAND, ORE.

I see that Howard Kachel wants to organize a Social Democrat Party. I think that is the thing to do; it should be known as the Peace Party. The people don't want war. And as both the old parties are favoring war, the new party would attract many voters, enough to give it a start. I joined the Socialist Party in 1908. It had at that time 20,000 votes. In 1914 in Oklahoma we polled 52,000 votes and became the second party in the state. With two papers such as the GUARDIAN in the East and the **Peoples World** in the West we would surprise the old parties .I am past 87 but I will do my best. We would at least give the peace-loving people something to vote for. Let's make an effort. **H. H. Stallard**

Opportunity for '56

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The mass of Americans do not realize that our Republic has been perverted into an empire. We have an opportunity in '56 to restore our traditional freedoms, but, there is no popular demand for restoration. Our Progressive Party is not strong enough to restore junked freedoms. The subverters used Truman to bring about their designs. If Stevenson is elected we are stuck with the status quo.

Kefauver is the only candidate from whom we may expect better things. This infamous liaison with Chiang and Franco must be crushed and a decent attitude toward China adopted. Yours for Restoration of the Republic. **J. N. McCullough**

Do-it-yourself

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

A friend-of-the-court brief was recently filed with the U.S. Supreme Court against the McCarran Act. Its clear, convincing legal and moral analysis of the act's unconstitutionality was signed by 360 prominent citizens, of as widely differing views as Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), violinist Yehudi Menuhin and Henry F. Grady, West Coast shipping executive and diplomat.

It seems to me, all would agree that only through lessening of world tensions can the McCarran Act be repealed. What more natural then, than that these clear and courageous and trusted 360 leaders head up a national drive for peace?

There's the nucleus of your third party. It starts as not a party but a movement for peaceful co-existence. We divide the map into 10 or 12 areas. In each area, a conference is convened, of those of the 360 who come from that area (they can bring their friends). Each area conference maps a plan for its area, according to conditions obtaining there. The overall plan is for the leaders of each area to launch a petition for peaceful co-existence.

No honest socialist could refuse such a program, nor any other honest citizen. Yet we don't have to decide "capitalism vs. socialism" — the very term, "co-existence" shows that. We don't have to wait for the millenium before we begin to work for it. We don't even have to decide whether we're "reforming" capitalism or not. We're just keeping the militarists from blowing the world up, along with us and our civil liberties, until we can get a good look at these and like issues—and a good look at one another as workers for a common cause. We could all start this week. **Elizabeth S. Cousins Rogers**

Same old merry-go-round

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Well, the national elections are getting off to a good start. Both the old parties are starting to raise the necessary funds with which to buy their way into office. They all make the same generalities and the nice talk and also support the so-called cold war and keep prices high, wages as low as possible and demand extra high taxes.

They all have the old straw man stuffed up to greater size than usual as they have to keep the big bad wolf scare built up to fool the people.

Perhaps some of those wasted billions could be used to improve the living conditions of all the people, even some of the people right here in the U.S.A. I might say also that I have lived through and seen the effects of three wars and not any of them settled anything. So I have come to the conclusion that war and preparation for war are good things for a few people to make money, making and selling armaments. And the little people have to pay the bill.

So let's call a halt to it. **W. H.**

"Speak again!"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Some years ago I frequently shopped in a struggling little co-op on the lower East Side of New York. Its volume of business certainly made no serious dent in the commerce of that busy neighborhood. but when finally discouraged it went out of business on a Friday, the very next Monday every single butcher in the area had raised the price on all cuts of meat several cents a pound.

I was reminded of this by a recent N.Y. **Times** article anticipating the results in the coming Presidential campaign of the catastrophic lack of any instrument for independent political action.

A **Times** Washington dispatch said:

"The prospect of any major Congressional struggle next year over civil rights or the Taft-Hartley Labor Act has declined almost to the vanishing point. Inquiries indicated today that both issues, which have sometimes generated an extraordinary election-year heat, are likely to lie all but inert in the Congressional session opening Jan. 3."

In this connection many New Yorkers will no doubt recall that when Mayor Wagner recently refused to reappoint Judge Delaney, one of the Mayor's aides shrugged off a warning of political reprisals on the part of liberals by asking pointedly, "So what? Where'll they go?"

And some of the same New Yorkers may also remember that when, for the first time in history, a Negro was nominated for the Manhattan borough presidency in 1949—by a small third party which certainly had no chance of winning the election—that example actually forced both major parties to nominate Negro candidates in 1953, and to elect a Negro to that office.

Mayor La Guardia used to press for a municipal power company, not to replace the major companies in New York, but to serve as a measuring rod and keep their charges down to a reasonable figure. The smallest of real third parties can, similarly, serve as a measuring rod, not to replace the major parties, but to keep their pledges up to a reasonable figure.

This, of course, as an immediate minimum result. What else may follow in time it would seem over-optimistic to say today. But as King Lear remarked: "Nothing will come from nothing. Speak again!" **Annette T. Rubinstein**

Testimonial

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Propaganda or propagoose,
Politics is no excuse
For us to lose our dander.

In fifty-six, the politics
Will blast gigantic bank rolls loose
And shake your aunt's verandah.

As campaign season's drawing near,
The issues get so smoggy clear,
For eyes to see, and ears to hear:

"If political facts you're needing
To make the news so crystal clear,
Don't look a'far, it's all right here
In the paper you're now reading."

Vee Emmess

YOU CAN STOP WORRYING ABOUT THAT POOR FAMILY WITH THOSE SIX CHILDREN...I HAD THEM EVICTED TODAY!

A vote for Kefauver

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In these days of increasing isolation of war-mongers and McCarthyites, it is discouraging to see that some progressives do not recognize their opportunity for reunion with the broad masses of the American people. The factors which gave birth to the New Deal are again in operation, i.e., a recognizable economic crisis impoverishing people and producing cries for relief. The people have rejected military solutions to the economic problems fortunately, so now they expect the system to give them jobs in peacetime.

As the crisis ripens and people's demands on government increase, the powers-that-be will increasingly work to deprive the people of the right to complain. The dangers of a fascist coup will increase. If at that point the progressives do not maintain political ties with the masses, but isolate themselves by advocating too-advanced demands, the McCarthyites will capitalize on this disunity by just liquidating the erring progressives, then enslaving the unguided masses. This is the lesson of the Third Reich.

The fight today is not for socialism, but against fascism. We can maintain democracy today only by working to defeat all pro-war, anti-labor, anti-democratic candidates on all levels. Since the bulk of these candidates are GOP, and since the only effective political opposition to the GOP is the Democratic Party, I think our course is plain.

However, our struggle is not wholly a negative one. We have a chance to elect a very liberal Democrat, Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tenn. Sen. Kefauver has an outstanding record.

If progressives all over the country would re-enter the Democratic Party it could again become a people's party whose policies could produce an atmosphere where all ideas could be advocated, including socialism. **A Progressive Doctor**

Well done, but . . .

LEETONIA, O.

Well done, I say, but when you come to the point of drawing the political inferences from your economic analysis, you begin to flounder as though afraid to accept the logical conclusion of your summation. If, as you state, the socialist world, much enlarged since the economic crisis of the early thirties, alone will stand when the impending crash comes, then it seems to me that above all what our country needs is an organization committed to socialism as the way out of the muddle in which we shall find ourselves due to the inability of the capitalists to manage their own system.

An organization committed to socialism as the way out need not isolate itself from the masses. In fact, to live, such an organization must make itself a part of the struggle to raise the standard of living of the people. It can then be pointed out that to guarantee a permanent rising standard of living for the wage earners, socialism is necessary.

Regardless of the consequences to capitalism, such an organization must lead in the struggle against war as the most calamitous event that could be visited upon the human race. **John W. Marshall**

Anti-Schwanzpolitik

LAKE GRAVE, L. I.

I subscribe to the unanswerable conclusion of the fable of the cats and the mice reprinted in the Dec. 5 GUARDIAN. Some 50 years ago I witnessed an election campaign for mayor in the industrial city of Bienne, Switzerland. The Socialist Party had a candidate in the field. In my youthful enthusiasm I joined friends, most young workers in the predominant watch-making industry, in canvassing prospective voters for the candidate of the Socialists. The candidate was given little chance of success (but he was elected). Many half-hearted Socialist sympathizers argued about not wanting to "throw away" their votes. The loudly-shouted and emphatic answer to that argument by the canvassers was the slogan: "Nur die allergroessten Kaelber waehlen ihre Metzger selber" ("Only the idiots among the jackasses will insist on electing their own torturers.")

Of course in those days the thing which the Left of today is selling as "coalition policy" was known by the less refined name of Schwanzpolitik (tailism). Among the revolutionary socialists who knew that the political battles of the working people can only be fought by the workers themselves by means of independent political action, Schwanzpolitik had a particularly malodorous reputation. No one has as yet been able to explain why the stench of tailism is supposed to become sweet scent when the bottle containing it is labelled "Coalition Policy." Coalition presupposes coalescing partners who agree on a common minimum program, without wiping out the identity of the separate partners, each with its own ultimate aim and program.

We are told, of course, and I readily admit, that times have changed since the beginning of the century. Oh, and how they have changed! Then socialism was but a dream, a hope, a distant expectation and capitalism was the world, all-powerful, absolutely dominant and seemingly unconquerable. As against this today half of the world and its people have socialism or are busily engaged in constructing it. Capitalism, on the other hand, is rapidly weakening. Its economy and its hope for the future are based on permanent counter-revolution. And in the face of these unchallengeable facts there are "Lefts" who solemnly declare that socialism is not the issue today and that the American workers can and should find the solution of their problems as "also voters" for candidates of one or the other of the capitalist parties.

Yes indeed, times and conditions have changed. But only a Left without faith and with even less spirit can build on those changes the hopeless structure of a policy against independent political action of the toiling masses.

Yours for independent political action of the American workers; for breaking the capitalist two party system; for organizing the working masses of the U.S. for the political class struggle, and against class collaboration in the political battles of the day. **Max Bedacht**

For socialism

EAST PALATKA, FLA.

It is heartening to note that half the letters you have been printing [comments on Tabitha Petran's articles on the U.S. economy—Ed.] stress the importance of socialist educational propaganda in preparation for the coming breakdown of the capitalist economy. Even in socially inert and politically ignorant regions of the South many workers are ready for instruction as to socialism. But there is no educational material available that meets their needs—literature dealing with the problems of their daily life, written in readable style and non-technical language and, above all, short and to the point.

There would be countless opportunities to distribute concise, snappy leaflets explaining to working men and women: (1) how "free enterprise" works to their disadvantage; (2) how socialism would benefit them; (3) answering briefly the major objections to socialism; (4) telling some of the achievements of socialism in other countries.

I am convinced it would be easy to enlist thousands of dependable workers throughout the U.S. and Canada in a long-term campaign to counteract the mis-education which the U.S. business interests have been systematically carrying on for years with virtually no opposition. **Frederick A. Blossom**

For socialism, but . . .

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

I'm all for socialism; but to mention the very word to anyone in my small town is, at best, to draw a blank. They just don't pay attention to you, hardly knowing what you're talking about. Of course there are some who would practically froth at the mouth at the mention of the word; I know two who would listen with some tolerance; but you might as well talk to the wind as expect to convince them or get them to do anything about it.

Most of us still think of ourselves as belonging to the Progressive Party. Why not continue with this, and, if possible, run some candidates in the next election? I don't see any use in emphasizing a socialist program—most people know that the majority of us are for some socialist measures as soon as possible, any way. Why shout about it? Sometimes a whisper is more effective. I think we should advocate the same sort of program we advocated with Vincent Hallinan, brought up to date in detail; and, if he is willing to lead with his chin again, ask him to run again. **Al Amery**

Misnomer

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Although I'm understating it
For sake of charity,
The FBI would be more fit
If called the FIB.

John Nople

Herblock in Washington Post

LIFE UNDER THE McCARRAN-WALTER ACT

'I report each month to a parole officer like a criminal'

The entire McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 is now up for Congressional scrutiny before the Kilgore subcommittee (GUARDIAN Dec. 12), and the Supreme Court has ordered lower courts in New York to take another look at the so-called "supervisory parole" provisions of the law as applied to deportees who are undeportable. But meanwhile the Department of Justice is forcing prosecution in Chicago of two persons charged with violating the "supervisory parole" provisions of the McCarran Act. One of the victims describes the importance of that case:

ON NOV. 3, 1955, two men were arrested in Chicago. At the time little notice was taken, but concern has been growing as the facts become known. There is no precedent for what is being attempted here. As one of the two men arrested I should like to explain.

Both victims are foreign-born and, under the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act, have been ordered deported for political reasons. The countries of our birth have undergone changes in government, do not consider us citizens, hence will not accept us as deportees. Such "non-deportable deportees" are a large group who constitute a "problem" which the McCarran-Walter Act purports to "solve" by what is erroneously called "supervisory parole."

WHAT IT MEANS: For the past several years I have reluctantly met certain demands upon me by this "supervisory parole." Though guilty of no crime, I report each month to a parole officer like a criminal. My movements have been restricted to a radius of 50 miles from home. Among the "supervisory parole" provisions there are some which have proved quite impossible to a large number of us. These include: medical and psychiatric examinations as ordered, and the performance of what would amount, in our opinion and in fact, to the services of informers.

The grounds for my arrest go back to 1953 when I was asked questions under oath concerning associates and associations. The "crime" now charged against me is that I refused to answer these questions under the First and Fifth Amendments.

I am now forbidden to "associate" with a wide variety of individuals and organizations. By the same token I acquire some of the attributes of a leper: my friendship is not a healthy thing, either. A government employe, a teacher and a good many others could lose their jobs for acknowledged "association" with me. For this reason alone I can never agree to answer the type of question put to me by the Department of Justice.

THE COST OF SILENCE: Let it be underlined that it is this type of question which the Department of Justice presses most. The indictment against me charges that I failed to answer whether I know specific people, whether I go to specific places, whom I meet and what we talk about. For my failure to answer they seek to impose upon me the maximum penalty of one year in prison and $1,000 fine. This verdict, if upheld by the courts, would empower the Attorney General to enforce perpetual imprisonment upon his victims, as there is no limit to the number of times one may be questioned, nor to the other "violations" that may be charged under "supervisory parole."

The Chicago arrest will constitute a test case which will determine whether the American tradition of Constitutional safeguards for the foreign-born, as well as for the native American will survive. It will determine whether the non-citizen, divested of all Constitutional protections, may be dealt with by the Attorney General as he deems "fit and proper." The stakes in this case are high, and have far-reaching consequences. Immediately affected will be over 200 persons under "supervisory parole" for political reasons; next are the more than 1,000 under "supervisory parole" for other reasons.

In case of conviction, the Attorney General will have gained a powerful weapon for harassment, brain-washing and pressuring non-citizens in order to secure information about their shopmates, fellow trade-unionists, friends and acquaintances. Certainly, "the land of the free and the home of the brave" cannot but suffer some alteration in its basic pattern, unless the attempt in this case to convict is defeated by the strength of public indignation. Nor could the citizens of this country avoid the long-term consequences of such convictions.

I therefore earnestly commend the issues here at stake to your attention, not only in my own defense, but equally in defense of freedom and the rights of all. Had I not fought for the right as I saw it, I would not now be a defendant in this case.

—**James Keller**, Room 325,
431 S. Dearborn St. Chicago 5, Ill.

PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS CAME OUT

Helen Sobell wins support for husband in Canada

By Elmer Bendiner

ON NOV. 24 Helen Sobell took the ferry across San Francisco Bay to share with her husband his fourth Thanksgiving Day in Alcatraz. Looking through a pane of glass, talking through a telephone, Morton Sobell told her:

"The difference between being tragic and heroic is fighting. And no one wants to be tragic."

Helen Sobell took that as her text and carried it to Canada. In Vancouver, Calgary, Regina and Winnipeg she gave that message to public meetings and private social gatherings. She talked to newsmen, broadcast over radio stations, spoke to provincial cabinet ministers. Last week, back in her New York apartment, Mrs. Sobell said she had found in the U.S. and in Canada a "climate in which people are reaching out for facts and freedom as they have not been doing in a decade."

HELEN and MORTON SOBELL
"No one wants to be tragic. . . ."

NEW ATMOSPHERE: For six years her husband has been imprisoned—four of them on "the Rock" of Alcatraz—on a charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage." The young scientist was a fellow-victim with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and is serving a 30-year sentence. This year seems different to the Sobells. There are motions under way for a new trial on the basis of fresh evidence and proof that the government relied on perjured testimony. Also there is a "new climate," Mrs. Sobell noticed, in which new Sobell committees flourish in remote places.

She found that Canadians looked for action on the Sobell case as a sign from the U.S. that a change was in the making. They echoed author Waldo Frank's view:

"Sobell is a symbol of our responsibility, and of our danger—of the tragic danger to America if we permit this injustice to be done."

THOSE WHO CAME: She spoke on the radio in Calgary, to women's clubs and to a mass meeting, advertised in the daily papers and sponsored by the "Calgary Committee to Hear Mrs. Sobell." Before Mrs. Sobell left town it had changed its name to the "Calgary Sobell Committee." Its founder was a woman honored only a few weeks earlier as one of Calgary's outstanding "senior citizens," a local leader of the Canadian Commonwealth Fedn. who promised to bring the Sobell case to the floor of the coming provincial convention of the CCF.

In Regina, Saskatchewan, the weather was chillier, the enthusiasm warmer. Helen Sobell spoke at the Canadian Congress of Labor Hall. The meeting had been widely advertised, the press covered thoroughly and fairly. The chairman was Saskatchewan's Deputy Minister of Labor and one of the speakers was the director of research for the Dept. of Health.

At the rally, and in the social evening that followed, observers noted the editor of the CCF official newspaper, four provincial cabinet members, the Speaker of the House in Saskatchewan and a member of the Federal Parliament.

Later, when a member of the right-wing minority in the provincial legislative assembly called for the dismissal of all officials who appeared at the Regina Sobell rally, Saskatchewan's Premier T. C. Douglas said:

"It would be a sad day for Saskatchewan if government employes or any other citizens were to be punished merely because they ask for a retrial of a person who has been convicted, which is, after all, the democratic right of any citizen. . . . There will be no McCarthyism in Saskatchewan as long as I am able to prevent it."

WHAT CAN WE DO: Regina is the headquarters of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who tracked Mrs. Sobell in limousines in the FBI manner. The action stirred widespread indignation on the part of Canadians but did little to dampen the enthusiasm. From Vancouver to Winnipeg Mrs. Sobell again and again heard comments like this at the question period:

"You have done so much for us by coming here because you have opened our eyes to what can happen wherever fear and hysteria obtain to any degree. Now what can we do for you in return?"

Canadians formed committees in her wake and when they asked her what the people in the States were doing, she told them that they were moving again, asking for things to do, for people to visit. She pointed to the Sobell meeting at the University of Rochester last month where author Yuri Suhl talked under the official sponsorship of the Program Committee of the College Congress.

A PIECE OF THE WORLD: Something new seemed to have crept even into Alcatraz where Morton Sobell spends his spare time studying electro-magnetic theory and deriving a picture of the world from the only two publications he can read: **U.S. News and World Report** and the **Congressional Record.** Mrs. Sobell admitted that it took a remarkable understanding to piece the world together from those sources. Amazingly enough, she adds, he seems to do it and has gathered hope.

At home the Sobell children—Mark, 6, and Sydney, 16—prepared for Christmas. They seemed hopeful too. Mark would have a bright new set of trains from his father. Engineer Morton Sobell works six hours a day in the prison laundry at 15c an hour. It took a lot of hours to make Mark's trains go.

AN INFORMER FOR 13 YEARS

Alex Wright, Pennsylvania PP leader, turns up in Ohio as an FBI plant

ALEX WRIGHT, 73, Negro trade unionist and long-time officer of the Progressive Party in the Western Pennsylvania region, on Dec. 8 appeared as a witness for the government in the Smith Act trial of 11 defendants in Cleveland, O. Wright testified that he has been reporting to the FBI for some 13 years and received $27,000 in informer's fees during that time.

Widely known in Pittsburgh's Hill District, Wright's surprise appearance created a small sensation there. The Pittsburgh **Courier**, Negro weekly, published a full page of street interviews with a score of Wright's acquaintances, none of whom had agreed with him as a progressive. The paper summed up the general comment:

"Ole Alex sure had us fooled. But you sure can be proud of him. He was so loyal and he sure took a lot of abuse. But I'm glad for him and the Negro people."

"NOTHING BUT CONTEMPT": But Benjamin Careathers, old-time Negro Communist leader in Pittsburgh and himself under a Smith Act conviction, had a different reaction; the two had been associates for years:

"My feeling is nothing but contempt. . . . When one becomes a stoolie and joins with the Till killers it is time for the greatest contempt."

He cited the current wave of terror in Mississippi and other parts of the South and said "these are the things Negroes and all other well-thinking people are interested in stopping":

"But the stooling of Wright will have no effect upon helping to put an end to such viciousness against my people. Instead it will help those who practice such things.

"No one should think that because of this, however, that the world or progress has stopped. I am glad to see that while this one Negro becomes a stoolie and helps the forces that want to continue segregation and thus betraying his people, 2,000 white students in the deep South—Atlanta, Ga.— demonstrated for the right of a Negro football player to play on the University of Pittsburgh team.

"I am sure my many friends understand that Wright's slimy act cannot benefit our people."

Wright left Pittsburgh two months ago to live in Virginia.

ALEX WRIGHT
$27,000 is more than 30 pieces

CEDRIC BELFRAGE INTERVIEWS

Moses Kotane: Struggle will bring change in Africa

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THIRTY YEARS AGO a young African left his home in the country and walked into the white man's fabulous gold city of Johannesburg, to get a job and find out why things were the way they were. Moses Kotane could neither read nor write; but in night school he learned that and much more under Solly Sachs, then a Johannesburg University student, later famous as the garment workers' union leader and bitter foe of white-supremacist Premier Malan. In 1927 Kotane joined a feeble infant organization called the African Natl. Congress. In 1944, when it was beginning to become a potent force for black liberation, he was elected to its executive.

Last month thousands of his people welcomed Kotane at Johannesburg airport, after a journey more significant in the new currents of the world than the well-publicized ones of Western statesmen. In January he had left South Africa—now a prison for such as himself, with this last escape-hatch closed—on a birth certificate.

HE WAS AT BANDUNG: In London, Indian Premier Nehru gave him a paper on which he could travel further. In Cairo he talked over African problems with Premier Nasser; in New Delhi he had several more visits with Nehru; and in Bandung he attended the great Asian-African conference with statesmen from all over the aroused colonial world. He could not participate in it but as a visitor, together with representatives of the Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian peoples, he was treated with special honor. At the end of the conference they submitted a memorandum, accepted by acclamation, asking that all conference nations use their good offices to get big-power support against racial practices in Africa.

I spent three wonderful hours with Kotane here on the eve of his flight home. Since Bandung he had not been wasting time. Returning to London with stopovers in Thailand and India, he had taken off again for a look at the socialist world—Poland, the U. S. S. R. and two months in China where he saw "Chou En-lai and almost everybody."

He is a big, quiet man; not as big nor as dark as Paul Robeson, but you might take him for Paul's younger brother. He gives the impression of strength tempered with the modesty of political maturity—of a man who will wait for the right time to move, because he has a grasp of history and the disposition of forces. In his home outside Johannesburg, where he formerly had a furniture business, his wife and four sons have been looked after by his organization while he was away.

HOW IT WORKS THERE: He has much to tell his people about black, brown and yellow nations who have taken their government into their own hands; about the almost completely automated steel mills he visited in "backward" China after a few years of people's rule. He cannot report on these things in public meetings because, like all key men of the African and Indian Natl. Congresses, he is barred from participation in any gathering. Under the law he could be picked up for being seen with two people on the street.

The white South African government has its

Moses Kotane in England

own ways of suppressing popular movements. The only organization that has been made illegal is the Communist Party. Kotane explained:

"We have no political prisoners in your American sense; those in jail are there for breaking discriminatory laws. The last time we had that kind of political prisoners was in 1952-53, when the Indian leader Dr. Dadoo and I were in jail for a month awaiting trial, kept in a cell with murderers without any light to read by. I got out because I appealed successfully against the sentence. The way it is now, you see, they don't lock us up. They just make it illegal for us to do anything."

A LONG STRUGGLE AHEAD: Kotane takes the hardships and indignities in his stride. When he left in January he was stopped and searched at the airport by an officer who said: "I saw that African give you something." Kotane laughed at the recollection and said: "What would he have given me? All that happened was that the African carried my bags and I gave him a two-shilling tip."

I asked what were the prospects for a South African new deal under such conditions.

"The problems are very difficult, because of the division of white and African workers. As you know we have 2½ million whites, 360,000 Indians, a million of what they call 'colored' and nine million Africans excluding Basutoland and Swaziland. The whites were once the core of the progressive movement and everyone was contemptuous of the Africans' ability to achieve anything. The African Natl. Congress has developed amazingly and is now the core, but we need more co-operation with the white workers.

"I see a long struggle ahead without any change in the government, but the effects of our struggle plus efforts made outside will produce a change. The outside world is an important factor, especially America and Britain. We have to put pressure on these powers, who now always abstain or vote against us on resolutions about South Africa, to put their foot down against racism. If they did, our government would have to change its position.

"Of course Marx wrote so much about the greater possibilities for social change in advanced nations, but now who knows? It seems to be the backward peoples that go forward nowadays. The fact that we are backward does not make us at all pessimistic."

THE FINANCIAL STORY: When I asked him what could be done about the racial laws he said:

"My idea is to destroy them. We haven't reached that stage yet, but we will. If the jails are filled with everybody, what happens to the laws? What we did in 1952 surprised the whole world; parliament had to meet hurriedly and change the laws. They have that now, but they can't keep it when we all go!"

He agreed that the financial pages best tell the story of the new winds blowing in South Africa. Financiers, frightened by the dwindling labor supply for the mines which are the heart of the economy, are reluctant to invest and the government finds money ever harder to raise. The mines need modern machinery to replace labor but cannot raise the capital for it, and the shares fall steadily in value.

WHAT AMERICANS CAN DO: Before he left to resume his place in the fight at home, Kotane spoke feelingly about his people's hopes for more support in the U. S., especially of course from its Negro community. The main job they can do for their African brothers is clear: to press more effectively for a change in Washington's position at UN on the discriminatory laws with which South Africa defies the human rights declaration.

Distressed by the suspension of the Natl. Negro Congress in America, Kotane believes that a stronger and broader organization could be formed by U. S. Negroes and others if the simple facts were more widely publicized. But his experience at Bandung with New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who came there for the State Dept., made him aware of the difficulties that progressive U. S. Negroes face.

"Powell," said Kotane, "was always coming up and saying he wanted to have a long talk with me about South Africa. I said I was at his service whenever it might be convenient for him; but he never came and we never had the talk. He seemed sort of scared in advance of what I would tell him."

The press probe

(Continued from Page 1)

claiming any resemblance to "concentration camps," the **Times** admitted:

"Disciplinary measures and security precautions would be necessary that could make prisoners uncomfortable and probably very unhappy."

The criterion for who rates the pick-up list: ". . . . it is better to be safe than sorry."

The danger of a McCarthy-like revival was spotted by the Natl. Committee for an Effective Congress which said in its **Congressional Report**, out last week, that the "radical right" in which it included Sens. Knowland (R-Calif.), Bridges (R-N.H.), Jenner (R-Ind.) and Eastland (D-Miss.) were seeking a "come-back" and "launching an intensive effort to re-create an atmosphere for fear and suspicion" in which they "might once again become a dominating political factor." The NCEC saw in the press hearings a "possibility for more havoc than was wreaked in the Voice of America and the Monmouth hearings together."

TIMES IS THE TARGET: McCarthy backers have long assailed the "left-wing" press, designating the **N. Y. Times** as its leader. In previous hearings on the press, employes of the **News, Mirror, Post** and **Time** magazine were called, but the **Times** staff received most of the subpenas.

The **Times** retreated under fire. Last July, when the committee called some of the newspapermen named as "communists" by CBS reporter and informer Winston Burdett, **Times** copy editor Melvin Barnet invoked the Fifth Amendment in answering questions concerning his activities and associates before he joined the paper. The **Times** fired Barnet before he was off the stand. Last month when the committee's subpena server called again at the **Times**, the management offered him the use of the conference room and had the personnel department serve up the victims. Two of those summoned confidentially informed the **Times** that they would stand on their constitutional rights in answering some questions. They were fired before they had a chance to testify.

THE GUILD'S ROLE: The N. Y. Newspaper Guild meanwhile had taken up the Barnet firing as a grievance. The **Times** unit grievance committee, headed by labor reporter A. H. Raskin, declined to press the grievance, holding that Barnet had "embarrassed" the paper by claiming his privilege. The **Times** unit membership upheld the Raskin stand by 337 to 235; less than half the unit voted.

Guild Local officials said that the **Times** contract was not with the unit but with the local. It held that the Guild Constitution required fighting Barnet's case and took the **Times** to court to seek arbitration. Supreme Court Justice Felix C. Benvenga last month refused to order arbitration; he declared that the unit's vote against fighting the case ended it. The Local said it would appeal the ruling.

Pressing for total surrender to the witch-hunt, right-wing members of the Guild sponsored a Local-wide referendum on the question of whether the Guild should resist dismissal of all members fired for taking the Fifth before an "authorized" agency inquiring into Communist affiliation.

JOBS IN DANGER: The Guild Executive Board voted 16-8 to recommend a "No" vote which would allow the Guild to pick and choose whom it would defend. Guild president Joseph Murphy and other officers, insisting that to invoke the Constitution was not a contract violation, campaigned for a "Yes" vote to make the defense mandatory in all Fifth Amendment cases.

The "No's" had it. The tally: 3,815 to 2,064, with 2,700 not voting.

The vote meant that no witness before the coming inquisition could be certain his union would defend him, and that any witness who worked on the commercial press would risk his job if he failed to co-operate with Sen. Eastland.

The silence of most publishers in the attack on freedom of the press was ominous. Barnet, writing in the **Nation** (12/24), had this explanation:

". . . A fight . . . where spectators feel that one combatant is lying down while the other is pulling his punches gives rise to a suspicion of 'fix.' In New York newspaper circles the theory has gained currency that some sort of deal has been made between the Senators and the publishers. . . . The committee's secondary targets—the Newspaper Guild and the left-wing NATIONAL GUARDIAN—are such as to arouse little fellow-feeling on the part of the newspaper owners."

Franc Tireur, Paris

WHAT ABOUT PRIZES FOR LARGE FAMILIES?
Sixteen new babies for the family of man!

RESPECT AND HELP — WITHOUT STRINGS

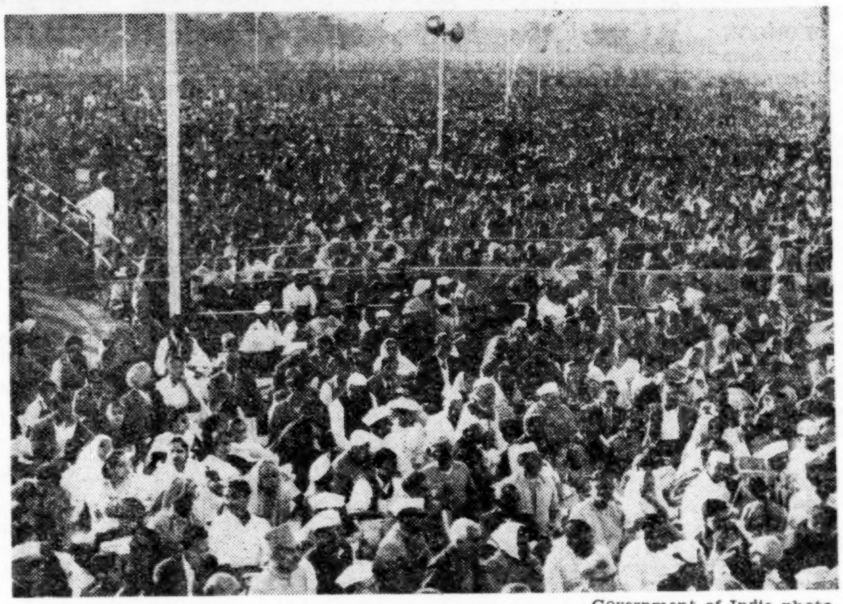
Why the Russians find a welcome in Asia

By Kumar Goshal

THE RECENTLY completed tour of Soviet Premier Bulganin and Communist Party chief Khrushchev provided the Western press with a field day. There was laughter and derision at the folksy behavior of the Russian leaders, at their use of phrases in the language of their hosts, their adoption of local customs.

But underneath the sneering there was worry over Soviet charges that the Western powers were continuing to support colonialism; continuing to treat colonials as inferior people—as they had treated the Burmese and the Indians; continuing to increase world tensions by trying to force other countries to join their globe-girdling military pacts.

The charges were denied; there were counter charges that Russia was fomenting trouble by "allowing" Czechoslovakia to sell arms to Egypt. Washington belittled what it called the meager offers of Soviet economic help to Asia and the Middle East in comparison with lavish dollar aid abroad.



Government of India photo

THIS IS THE WAY THEY TURNED OUT IN NEW DELHI
Some of the hundreds of thousands who greeted the Russians

THE BIG FUMBLE: While Western diplomats protested, the steps they took confirmed Soviet charges.

For example, Secy. Dulles' joint communique with Portuguese Foreign Minister Cunha about Portugal's "province of Goa"—now struggling to be free and reunited with India—ranks as a classic boner. Dulles never explained why he had to refer to Goa at all, and in any case why he did not speak for his own country instead of joining with Portugal. Even the pro-U. S. Indian press took it as support for Portuguese colonialism. In the UN the U. S. has consistently sided with the colonial powers.

British policy in Africa or Asia has always been based on the theory that colonial peoples are inferior, unable to govern themselves, and must be guided to "democracy and self-government." Three weeks ago the British took the familiar and hated line in Cyprus. They were reported (N. Y. **Times**, 12/18) as saying "they are regarded as masters of good administration" and maintaining that "the Greeks have been proved to be poor administrators."

JORDAN KICKBACK: London's attempts to force Jordan into the Middle East Treaty Organization brought thousands of angry demonstrators into the streets and resulted in the fall of two successive cabinets. Taking the "calculated risk" of the Jordan government's collapse, Britain had sent Imperial Gen. Staff chief Gen. Sir Gerald Templer—famous for his tough policy in Malaya—to blackjack Jordan into METO or lose some $30,800,000 which Britain gives annually to Jordan to maintain the 20,000-man Arab Legion. The demonstrators picked another target: British command of the Arab Legion.

On Dec. 25 a united front of all political parties met in Amman, Jordan's capital, "to organize a powerful campaign" for parliamentary elections "absolutely free of bribery, British pressure and the widely reported practice of having the British-financed Arab Legion vote as a bloc." The meeting pledged adamant opposition to joining METO, demanded and secured freedom for political prisoners. Westerners in Jordan predicted "more trouble for the British . . . doom for the idea of getting Jordan into [METO]" (**NYT**, 12/26).

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Secretary Dulles tries the Indian rope trick.

WHOSE BASES? There have been other attempts at Western coercion in the Middle East. On Dec. 19, in the UN, Saudi Arabian delegate Abdel Azzam accused Britain of forcibly trying to gain control of oil-rich Buraimi Oasis and the shiekdom of Oman.

According to Washington and London, METO was conceived as a barrier to Soviet military aggression. But Syria's UN ambassador Ahmed Shukairy said early last month that

> ". . . the disturbed conditions of the Middle East are the making of the Western powers. The Soviet Union has not a single military base in the Middle East [and] has not affronted one single citizen of the Middle East."

France's ex-Premier Mendes-France last week strongly criticized Premier Pinay's signing the NATO council statement describing Soviet Middle East tactics as "a new challenge to the free world," a challenge Dulles promised to meet by increased military aid to U. S. allies and "massive retaliation." Mendes-France said:

> "For the West there is a kind of challenge, but not in the military sense that the [NATO] communique seems to imply. The Soviet Union begins a massive action in the field of economic competition. [To] reply by simply announcing a new increase of our armaments . . . would be to turn our backs to reality and prepare the way for severe setbacks . . . the unlucky Baghdad pact (METO) . . . constituted for the West a blunder of which we now see the consequences."

FOR INTERNAL USE: "One of the American formulators" of METO recently conceded (**NYT**, 11/27) that the pact was conceived "more as a political and ideological **cordon sanitaire** against Soviet encroachment" than a military barrier to "possible armed aggression." He said that some Middle Eastern governments joined METO "for U. S. aid in . . . suppressing internal unrest."

Contrary to predictions in the U. S. press, neither Egypt nor Syria has invaded Israel. Instead, Syria has complained to the UN Security Council of a "large-scale attack" by Israel. Israel has explained the attack as a reprisal against Syrian sniping at Israeli fishermen in the Sea of Galilee.

The action has provoked sharp criticism in Israel of Premier Ben Gurion's unilateral action, and many Israelis are beginning to realize the futility of continuous Arab-Israeli attacks and counter-attacks. It is becoming increasingly obvious that imperialist rivalry over oil, Western arms aid to maintain docile feudal rulers over poverty-stricken peoples, Israel-Arab competition for U. S. favor, Western military bases next door to the Soviet Union, are all related. Only in the framework of a conference of all interested powers to relieve Middle East tension can the Israeli-Arab conflict be resolved.

KINDS OF AID: American press efforts to belittle Soviet aid to underdeveloped countries misses the main point: the quality and not the quantity of such aid.

U. S. aid to underdeveloped countries has been primarily military, confined largely to such disreputable and doomed allies as Chiang in Formosa, Rhee in S. Korea, Diem in S. Vietnam and Songraam in Thailand. At best, Western aid has helped to improve the production of raw materials under Western control and to facilitate their export. In regular UN bodies and regional commissions Western powers have consistently opposed industrialization of underdeveloped countries.

Soviet economic assistance has been primarily in industrialization and supply of capital goods. For example, Moscow is building a steel mill in India which will belong to the Indians when it is finished. It is supplying machinery, steel, minerals and chemicals to Syria. It has agreed to supply capital goods to Burma in exchange for deferred payment in kind, "spread over a number of years." Moscow has even offered to participate with the West in building the Aswan dam in Egypt.

ROUND ONE: Since there are no strings attached to Soviet aid, even METO member Turkey, recipient of huge U. S. military aid but "with its economy near bankruptcy," is reported preparing to trade with Moscow for industrial equipment in return for surplus tobacco and fruit (**Newsweek**, 12/12).

It is by extending co-operation to build a rounded economy in underdeveloped countries that Russia has

> ". . . mounted a formidable economic and propaganda drive into the Middle East and Asia [and has] successfully competed for the allegiance of the neutrals. It has won round 1" **Newsweek**, 12/19).

NO PUKKA SAHIBS: When Bulganin and Khrushchev pressed their palms together and greeted the Indians in their own way, Western newsmen wrote about "Soviet antics." The Indians valued the greeting as a compliment, recalling how the British had impressed them with the notion that Western ways and manners were invariably superior, and had forced them to study English instead of their own highly developed languages.

The Western press characterizations of the Russian behavior as "clownish" stemmed from an unawareness or a disregard of the Asian's demand that their own way of life be respected. It was only by a Khrushchev-like courtesy that Chester Bowles became the only U. S. ambassador to achieve anything like popularity in India.

By respecting local customs and manners and by offering a similarly respectful economic co-operation, the Soviet leaders seemed to many Indians to be expiating the past sins of Western imperialism and showing the way to future harmonious East-West relations.

THEY WOULDN'T TAKE SHELTER

All resisters to 'Operation Alert' guilty; sentences suspended, but they will appeal

LAST JUNE 15, while air-raid sirens warned New Yorkers to take shelter from imaginary bombers, 29 men and women resolutely sat down on benches in City Hall Park. They were herded into patrol wagons, booked and held in $1,500 bail each. The magistrate referred to their peaceful sitting as "murder."

The Catholic weekly **Commonweal** (7/15) said the defendants were convinced there was no defense against the H-bomb and that "Operation Alert" therefore fostered illusions. They also challenged the state's right to compel an individual to co-operate in something he believed wrong and to suspend constitutional rights during a mock emergency. **Commonweal** commented on their imprisonment:

> "The saint and the radical (and they are often one and the same) share a common ironic destiny: honored by posterity, they are usually persecuted during their lifetimes."

WHO THEY ARE: Most of the 29 are associated with the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the **Catholic Worker** or the Quakers. The cases of two were severed from the others, seven pleaded guilty, 19 innocent when they appeared for trial last month before Magistrate Hyman Bushel in Vehicle Accident Court. One was dismissed because she was pregnant.

In their brief the 19 said the Civil Defense Act had denied them freedom of conscience, speech, press and assembly, the right to petition for redress of grievances and equal protection of the law. Speaking for the group, 70-year old Dr. Abraham J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, said that he has been a Quaker since 1918, that in a real emergency, pacifists would do everything possible to save human life,

> ". . . but we would not do it as part of a military machine or under the military conscription act."

SENTENCE SUSPENDED: Magistrate Bushel found all of them guilty, said that pacifists were entitled to all appropriate sections of the Bill of Rights but that "City Hall Park at the time of an air raid drill . . . was hardly an appropriate place at which to demand the free exercise of those ancient rights." The penalty was $500, a year's imprisonment or both; but the Magistrate suspended sentence in all cases. The decision is the first ever handed down upholding the Civil Defense Act. The 19 said they would appeal the ruling.

OLD AGE PENSIONS AND DISABILITY GRANTS STOPPED

Uncle Sam enters pocket-picking business

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN, long-time U. S. Communist leader, is serving a three-year prison sentence under the Smith Act in Atlanta federal penitentiary. He still has 18 months to go. In January, 1955, he became eligible for a Social Security old age pension, due him from money which he and his employer (the CP) in equal shares had paid into the fund since it was first set up in the mid-Thirties.

From January through September he received a monthly check of $38.10; he kept $10 for himself to purchase prison commissaries, sent the remainder on to his elderly wife. It was her only source of income. But in October he was informed that his check had been impounded by the warden's office. All he could learn was that the action had been ordered from Washington by Director of Prisons John J. Bennett.

BASED IN SACB: Official Washington was reluctant to answer questions about the case; on the other hand, there weren't many persistent questioners. But on Dec. 14 the reason became known by indirection. A routine letter from the Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare to its state offices revealed that last August a decision had been made:

> "The office of the general counsel of this Dept. has ruled that service for the Communist Party is service in the employ of a foreign government, and as such is not covered by the Social Security Act which excludes service in the employ of a foreign government. In these cases where it is determined that an individual's Social Security account has been credited with earnings from this employment, these earnings will be deleted and will not be recognized for Old Age and Survivors Insurance purposes."

Herblock in Washington Post
"What is this—a game?"

This ruling purportedly leaned on a finding by the Subversive Activities Control Board in April, 1953, that the Communist Party and its "affiliates" are agencies of a foreign government; that decision is now on appeal to the Supreme Court.

THE LIST GROWS: But for Washington bureaucrats, a ruling is a ruling. By Dec. 19 government Yuletide cheer was in full swing. On that date it became known that Jacob Mindel, another Smith Act victim serving his time in the Danbury, Conn., prison likewise had his December Social Security check impounded. He is 74; his wife is totally dependent on his pension. Then on Dec. 21 William Z. Foster, CP chairman who is now 75, received a letter from the government demanding that he return forthwith $1,006.50 which had been "erroneously" paid him under Social Security.

In the same week, as though to prove that the government could be tough with others besides elderly, ailing and helpless Communists, the Veterans Administration informed James Kutcher of Newark, N. J., that his total disability pension of $329 a month has been stopped. Kutcher lost both legs as an infantryman fighting in Italy in 1943. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, an anti-Communist left-wing group. Among the reasons cited for denying Kutcher a pension he paid for with his own body was this:

"The evidence shows that in July, 1950 . . . you stated . . . that the Government of the United States is composed of people who are cheaters and crooks who oppress the working people."

THE PRECEDENT: Kutcher lost a clerk's job with the VA in 1948 on a similar charge; the government has long been trying to evict him from his home in a federal housing project.

Over the Christmas weekend the government took another look at what it had done and restored Mr. Kutcher's pension. He was not too impressed. He said he felt that he had won "a reprieve, but not a victory," and wondered what a vindictive government would do to him next.

But there was a precedent for the Kutcher action. Long ago the Veterans Administration cut off the total disability pensions of two veterans with outstanding records: Robert Thompson and Saul Wellman. Both are Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act; both were denied their earned pensions under the same law cited in Mr. Kutcher's case.

For all concerned, it was a Merry Christmas, 1955.

The Earl, the Knight and the Bomb

"It fell to Mr. Truman to decide on the launching of the atomic bomb. The advice of the Chiefs of Staff was that without its use victory would cost another 500,000 Allied lives. . . . I have no doubt that as the case stood the President (U. S. A.) took the right decision."

—*Clement Attlee, MP, commenting on* **Year of Decision** *by* Harry S. Truman, London **Sunday Times**, Dec. 4, 1955.

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". . . there was never a moment's discussion as to whether the atomic bomb should be used or not . . . there was unanimous, automatic, unquestioned agreement around our table. . . . Earlier in the week Stalin had told me privately that as his party was leaving Moscow a message had been delivered to him through the Japanese Ambassador. . . . It was from the Japanese Emperor and stated that Japan could not accept unconditional surrender, but would be prepared to compromise on other terms."

—Sir Winston Churchill, **The Second World War**, Vol VI.

BROWNELL'S HATCHET OUT

The strike at Westinghouse and the attack on UE

TWO UNIONS, long bitterly opposed to each other, are both currently waging a hard-fought strike, now going into its third month, against the huge Westinghouse Electric Co. In the course of the battle the independent United Electrical Workers has been making overtures to its rival, the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, for unity of all labor in the industry.

On Dec. 20 Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to find the UE a "Communist-infiltrated" union, was promptly denounced by UE president Albert J. Fitzgerald as "the nation's No. 1 strikebreaker."

This is the government's second use of the so-called Communist Control Act of 1954; last July 28 Brownell invoked it against the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union in the midst of a strike it was conducting against the nation's biggest copper producers. (It went on to win its major demands).

"ACCUSATIONS ARE LIES": Fitzgerald's statement said:

> "Atty. Gen. Brownell has taken action against UE at the very time our union is engaged in a bitter strike against the attempt of the Westinghouse Electric Co. to slash wages and undermine working conditions of all its employes.

> "Only a few months ago, Brownell took similar action against the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union when that union was engaged in a national strike for a living wage against the wealthy copper companies.
>
> "Obviously, Mr. Brownell, acting in one year in the two major national strikes of 1955, has become the nation's No. 1 strikebreaker.
>
> "Mr. Brownell's hypocritical redbaiting is designed to cover up the Westinghouse Co.'s fear of the growing unity of UE and IUE Westinghouse workers on strike from coast to coast.
>
> "Brownell's accusations against UE are lies. UE has fought and defeated many similar attempts of industry and its McCarthyite politicians to destroy it. UE will defeat this latest attack."

THE CHARGES: The 15-page petition to the SACB charges that UE officers, in "collaboration" with Communist Party functionaries, have made the union into "an instrument for the promotion and advancement of the aims and objectives of communist organizations, foreign communist governments and the world communist movement."

Under the Communist Control Act, if these charges are sustained after hearings, the union loses all its rights and privileges under the Natl. Labor Relations Board, in which case 20% of its membership may then get an NLRB order for election of new officers and representatives. But net effect of the law is to destroy any union designated as "communist-infiltrated."

No date has yet been set for the start of hearings in the case of either M-M or UE.

The Westinghouse strike involves some 11,000 employes in ten cities. Total membership of UE is estimated variously at from 100,000 to 250,000.

GOJACK INDICTED: Both the UE and M-M are under other governmental attacks. A day after UE was cited to the SACB, UE general vice-president John T. Gojack, who is also president of its Dist. 9 with headquarters at Ft. Wayne, Ind., was indicted by a Washington, D. C., grand jury on nine counts of contempt of Congress. In appearances before the House Committee on Un-American Activities last February and March, Gojack invoked the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions about his political beliefs and associations.

ATTY. GEN. BROWNELL
The grim reaper in the middle

On the same day that Gojack was indicted, Maurice E. Travis, regional director for M-M in Los Angeles, was convicted in a Denver federal court on four counts of violating the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit clause. He will appeal.

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DON'T MAKE A DATE FOR BRIDGE! UNTIL YOU'VE CHECKED GUARDIAN'S CALENDAR ON PAGE 11 FOR MEETINGS, PARTIES, AFFAIRS IN YOUR CITY.

UE PAMPHLET

'Democracy versus Force and Violence'

THE REASON for Atty. Gen. Brownell's attack on UE becomes clearer after reading UE's new 15-page illustrated pamphlet **Democracy vs. Force and Violence**—(single copies free from UE, 11 E. 51st St., N. Y. C. 22). It declares that the terror afoot against the Negro in the South "demands the attention of all who cherish democracy and our constitutional form of government." After detailing a number of outrages (on which neither the Justice Dept. nor the FBI has ever acted), the pamphlet strikes the heart of the matter:

> "Force and violence in the South are being practiced wholesale against the Negro people—and white defenders of democracy—because the ruling interests in the South fear the advance of democracy there. And behind these ruling interests stand the big corporations of the North who want to maintain the South's low wage and non-union status."

The pamphlet says "three major reasons" are behind the South's reign of terror: (1) the U. S. Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow decisions; (2) the Negro's determination to vote; (3) "the growing trade union organization . . . and the growing unity between white and Negro workers."

The recent 20th UE Natl. Convention proposed that:

- A vigorous campaign be immediately launched by all districts to help stop the reign of terror.
- UE give all-out support to the fight for federal, state and local FEPC legislation with enforcement powers, in the coming months.
- UE intensify its efforts to train and develop Negroes, women and other minority leadership at all levels of our union.
- UE intensify the fight for inclusion in all contracts of the model fair practices clause.
- UE give attention and resources to the South and to rural areas in a fight for democracy and union organization, for Negro-white unity.

BOOKS — A LEGACY OF LIGHT

The poems of Edwin Rolfe

By Aaron Kramer

THESE POEMS are a breathtaking chronicle: a monument of "fragile flowering granite." In an era of silence and darkness, any singer is rare—rarer still, the one whose melody blazes across the gloom.

When Edwin Rolfe tore these notes out of his heart and brain, he knew they were destined to be his last. Like a doomed lark, pretending to "see no ends, only beginnings," he heralded the world's dawn: "that birth-hush of gray, when from the eastern sky the colors spill and spread. . . ."

In the presence of a heroic spirit such as Rolfe's, it is almost indecent to name those who dominate American poetry today: Eliot, Jeffers, Cummings and Pound. Yet the contrast is too fantastic to be ignored: on the one hand a flock of creatures well-fed and physically strong, perched like owls atop their tree of night, hooting a love-song to death, contemptuous and afraid of what is alive; on the other hand a poor, pale fellow, with death lodged inside of him, warbling defiance through the last possible moment, heralding the sun he will not see!

VAST BATTLEGROUND: Long ago, on the banks of the Ebro, Rolfe learned how to pit his spirit against death. Long ago he was trained to find the heart of an enemy with his bayonet. This slender volume, though, unfolds a battleground even vaster in acreage, more turbulent and momentous, than that earlier one. All around him comrades are yielding their posts: some change sides, others turn silent. Yet the poet refuses to give up his life's purpose: rushing from trench to trench, he massages numbed fingers, revives the idea of victory.

To those who have betrayed their cause for the sake of comfort and safety, he sings:

"Your act of survival betrayed not your friends,
but yourself most of all . . .
You killed your own scope,
sad stranger, lost friend,
And that was your crime:
in the noon of your life
you resigned from the living."

SOME DAY: To those who "amid despair, never quite lost the fertilizing hope nor surrendered the clear and kindling idea" he promises:

"that some day all false idols
would be shattered,
all repressions lifted, all
the cudgel-wielders fall under the double weight
of our steadfastness and their
savagery."

The poet's masterful portrait of Van Gogh rings like a battle-cry for "the blazing truth." We are reminded that those who mourned the "defeated" painter when he "went down at last" were mourning "a mad and victorious man, an undefeated eye."

At the very end, poignantly bidding the reader to "carry and resurrect" him, Rolfe performs his last ritual of love, summing up his absolute dedication to mankind. He offers a legacy of light, a luminous wake, to attend us on our voyage "through the blind tunnels of the years ahead"; and a strong, straight rail to lead us dawnward.

Rest assured: the glowing name and song of Edwin Rolfe will stay very close, "welded and wed" to us, on that voyage.

PERMIT ME REFUGE, by Edwin Rolfe, published by The California Quarterly, 6000 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 28, Calif. 46 pp. $3.

BOOKS & PUBLICATIONS

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A PETITION FOR AMNESTY

There is no better time than the season of peace and good will for men to examine their actions and rectify deeds done in haste and hysteria. We call to attention a petition for clemency of Smith Act victims sponsored by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and 45 other prominent Americans. As concrete proof of the desire of Americans to further the spirit of Geneva we urge the President to grant the petition.

Below is the full text:

"Dear Mr. President:

"We respectfully urge you to grant an amnesty commuting the sentences of the sixteen men and women now in prison under the Smith Act (Alien Registration Act of 1940) to time already served, and to use your influence to secure the postponement of trials in the 180 cases presently awaiting Trial Court or Appeals Court decisions under the Act.

"Those who present this petition are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and with essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life and the desire to maintain and strengthen it.

"We call attention to Supreme Court Justice Black's description of the character of the Smith Act and the trial of Communist Party leaders under it in his dissenting opinion when appeal from the convictions under it were before the Supreme Court:

" 'At the outset I want to emphasize what the crime involved in this case is and what it is not. These petitioners are not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They are not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the government. They were not even charged with saying or writing anything designed to overthrow the government.

" 'The charge was that they agreed to assemble and talk and publish certain ideas at a later date.

" '. . . The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government.'

"Recently the Supreme Court itself by agreeing to review the California Smith Act prosecutions has recognized the appropriateness of a 'second look' at the Act.

"Among the sixteen for whom we are requesting a Christmas amnesty are elderly and ill persons. The indictments and convictions in these cases were carried through in a period of the 'cold war' and in an atmosphere often marked by hysteria. Fortunately, in recent months conditions have changed for the better and there is a noticeable trend to reaffirm the basic democratic traditions of our country.

"It is our conviction that your acquiescence in our request would serve to give further impetus to this healthy trend, would give proof of our confidence in democratic institutions, would encourage and inspire our friends throughout the world and win new friends. Thus, we believe, it would also contribute toward peace in the world about which you are so deeply concerned and would be in line with the policy you set forth through Secretary of State Dulles on Nov. 18, 1955:

" 'I know that no setback, no obstacle to progress will ever deter this Government and our people from the great effort to establish a just and durable peace.' "

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Official films of NEHRU'S T-'P TO USSR. Speaker from India discussing "India and the Soviet Union." Wed., Jan. 4, 8 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Adm. 50c. Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship.

"U. S. FARMERS IN U. S. S. R.," Soviet feature-length color documentary starts Jan. 20, Cinema Annex, 3210 W. Madison. Fri., Jan. 20 only: In person, D. Gale Johnson, member, U. S. farm delegation, speaks at 8:15 p.m. Added attraction: "Russian Holiday," in color.

Detroit

IT'S ALL NEW AND EXCITING! It's the 1956 GALA CULTURAL FESTIVAL featuring songs and dances from many nations by superb artists. Sun., Jan. 15, 2 p.m., Ukranian Hall, 5221 Oakman (nr. Michigan Av.), Dearborn. Proceeds to fight Walter-McCarran Law. Tickets $1 at door or Mich. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, 2033 Park Av. Detroit 26. WO 1-5196.

Van Nuys, Calif.

JEROME DAVIS author of "Character Assassination," recently back from Japan, speaks on "CRISIS IN ASIA," Sun., Jan. 8, 8 p.m., Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.

Los Angeles

VINCENT HALLINAN, 1952 I. P. P. Presidential candidate, will speak on "PRICE TAG ON PRESENT PROSPERITY—Moving To Meet The Growing Crisis." Sun., Jan. 8, 2:30 p.m. 2936 W. 8th St. Adm. 50c. Sponsor: UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE, L. A. CHAPTER.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "THEY MET IN MOSCOW," Dec. 31. The Russian "Oklahoma" to put you in the mood to see the New Year in. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members $1.25. Next week: "THE COURIER OF LYONS" (French).

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WANT TO KNOW?

An Almanac with flavor

WHAT was Freedom's Journal and when and where was it published? Who was the first Negro U.S. Senator and from which state? Susan B. Anthony went on trial June 17, 1873, at Rochester: why? What and when was the Bonus Expeditionary Force? Stop guessing. Elizabeth Lawson's **The People's Almanac*** of "important dates and events in the history of the struggles of the people of the United States," has the answers to these and to hundreds of additional questions.

As **The Worker** news editor, Rob F. Hall, says in his introduction: ". . . It is primarily an almanac of 'remarkable dates,' of which there are so many that no space remains for the dates and hours of the equinoxes and the solstices, the waxing and the waning of the moon, the aspects of the planets, or conjectures upon the weather."

Nevertheless, the day-by-day and month-by-month compilation of significant facts indicates clearly what makes our world go round.

The Almanac could not contain everything, and some important dates are omitted, but the birthdays and events recorded make it, in its traditional almanac format, useful and attractive. —E. G.

* *THE PEOPLE'S ALMANAC by Elizabeth Lawson, published by New Century, 832 Broadway, N. Y. 3, 50c.*

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NEW SERIES

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"INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION" will be the first of a series of meetings sponsored by the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship under the general title "Understanding the Soviet Union."

Featuring Indian documentary films of Prime Minister Nehru's trip through the Soviet Union, the meeting will be held at 8 p.m., Jan. 4, at the Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Admission is 50 cents. A series ticket, covering events that would regularly cost $4.85 plus a bonus event for series ticket holders only, sells for $3.50.

Second in the series will be the midwest premier of the Soviet color documentary film of the American farmers' trip to the U.S.S.R. last summer. It will be held at the Cinema Annex Theater, 3210 W. Madison St., Jan. 20.

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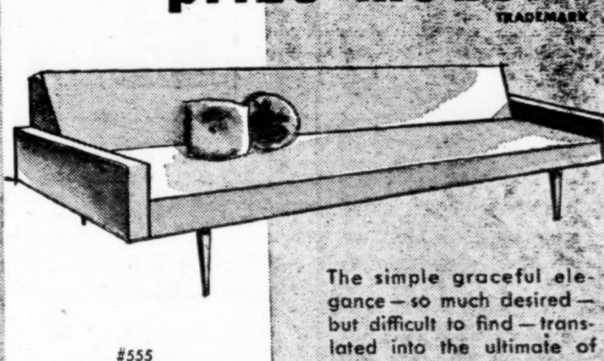

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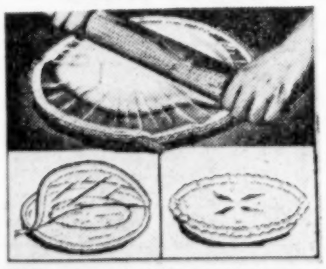

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the SPECTATOR

Little Monster

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, sociologist Lyle W. Shannon and staff are exhaustively analyzing a saccharine waif known to millions as Little Orphan Annie. Early results of the study, published in the **Public Opinion Quarterly**, indicate that Annie is a neat embodiment of all that is most miserable and most revered in middle-class and upper-crust America.

Annie's life and messages are circulated to millions daily by the Chicago **Tribune**-N. Y. **Daily News** syndicate. It is estimated that for every 95 children who read Harold Gray's strip, 100 adults read it. Annie is not a casual symptom but a deliberately and deftly class-angled little monster, it turns out.

Robert Joyce

In August, 1944, Annie's hero and benefactor, the millionaire industrialist known as Daddy Warbucks (as in the old morality plays all names are meaningful) died painfully. Sociologist Shannon calls Warbucks the "apotheosis of free enterprise" and writes: "Warbucks was a victim of the New Deal, a martyr to success in the twilight of rugged individualism."

In August, 1945, Gray revived Warbucks and when readers asked why, answered: "The situation changed last April . . . Roosevelt died then."

BELTLINE ANNIE: It is plain that Annie is no "comic" but a "transmission belt" and the sociologists may dissect her as a serious and significant phenomenon. Shannon's staff went to work on 110 Sunday strips of Annie from April 18, 1948, to July 2, 1950 (six comic sections were missing from library files.) They tabulated Annie's heroes, villains, friends, enemies. They noted her associates, her environment, her goals in life and the way she reached them. Summing up, to Shannon the data indicated that

> ". . . Annie has an amazing ability to rub elbows with people in extreme walks of life, but it is rather noticeable that she never lived with coal-miners, steel-workers, punch-press operators or laboring people in general. Annie's associates tend to be either the great captains of industry or the poor and unfortunate who lack initiative or are unwilling to work for a living . . . the poor whose personal disorganization clearly has no connection with the disorganization which exists in our economic system . . . the causes of their poverty are carefully shown to be of a non-social nature."

Her friends, according to Shannon's tabulations, are millionaires, policemen, reformed gangsters or exotic Asians who serve Warbucks loyally and servilely. Among these hatchet-men who devotedly do the millionaire's bidding are the giant Punjab, his nephew Funjab, The Asp, the Seeress Kahn Kahn, a reformed gangster called Big Monster and his son, Little Monster. When these loyal workers are not assisting Warbucks or Annie they might do a good turn for another of Annie's heroes, Patrick Puddle, the millionaire steel man.

THE VILLAINS—IVAN AND MAX: The enemies of Annie and civilization are mainly heads of foreign spy rings like Ivan Ichalotski, Max the chauffeur, or Michail the scientist who gives secrets away; occasionally gangsters and, now and then, a menace on a second front like Prissy Putsch, a housewife who campaigns against comics.

Annie's enemies, the enemies of civilization, meet violent ends. The cunning little orphan herself drowned foreign spy Andrei in a sewer and led three other "foreign agents" into quicksand. Others fell through her trap door. Kansk, a heroic East-European counter-agent, broke the neck of one spy, and Punjab unscrewed the head of one "like the lid of a toothpaste tube." The Asp and Big Monster beat up, shot, drowned or set pythons on the rest. Shannon reports:

> "Annie's methodology is that of the Rockefellers, Carnegies and other captains of industry of the 19th Century. How much of it is the methodology of mid-century government today is debatable. The most forceful speeches of Oliver Warbucks could well have come from the mouths of prominent leaders in either of the two major political parties."

ANNIE ON THE LINE: In Annie's epic struggle between good and evil, new enemies rise before the old ones have gurgled their last agonies. "Foreign spies and their radical American counterparts are far and away the wiliest opponents Annie meets." Frequently Annie lays down the line on specific problems such as juvenile delinquency, offering child-labor a cure:

> "Delinquency? Horsefeathers! New, is it! Kids used to be too busy to get into trouble! Just let a kid grow up and take a piece o' some job and he'll never be delinquent, lady."

Shannon finds these views typically upper- and middle-class and sums up:

> "Actually Little Orphan Annie presents a picture of the world about us as many see it, one in which the hard-working captains of industry struggle against a vicious and uncompromising underground in order to protect capitalism, earn large profits and thus assume their social responsibilities, i.e., be charitable to the needy."

Can it be that capitalism, like the man who decapitated his parents, is pleading for clemency on the grounds that he is an orphan?

—Elmer Bendiner